526 616 The pole and stick game (aiki´wič) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[184] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wič) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyit and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

● [765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wič as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´´iwan) or another straight willow (sala´´am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´´al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 221 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

764 fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to [838] my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño·č·m (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

●765 764 The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony, known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyakman, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.

> You go to another land
> You like that land
> You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

764 The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena

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[76] Handbook, 497.

[77] Ibid., 500.

[78] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho·šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

535 Pleasure dances (ha·tim) were frequently held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu·witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

2 [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut

[P. 416] Tachi Chukut

535 517 574 [302] not always have words"; they probably were of the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (ṭuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 616 At another time J.A. made brief reference to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above, [766] [152] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heswaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 429] Tachi

chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (ǒo ʻp:t) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[122]

[122] Handbook, 501.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki'nːp) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki 'nuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when
[462] carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2" x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau 'wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237
38] On special occasions eagle down was stuck on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue.
292 An ornamental headband (hoči'n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

[P. 107b] Wukchumni

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´nič, and another known mother, Tu´nič. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonočim was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonočim. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonočim were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonočim were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

●765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´n:č). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´t:t and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi´t:p, wi´tipč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum wit:p: baby boy
mo´k:s wit:p: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta wit:p gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
wit:p mu´k:s: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
[302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal
[533] white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a
574 mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

BURIAL

763 If it were thought a man would die within
616 a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the
764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono ʻčːm) had
767 dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

●765 The story of the man who followed his
773 wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of
302 hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier
[778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun-
[683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream
787 (ana ʻtsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was
276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ən'tːm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 791 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24] who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 765 Pleasure dance.---A dance (he´š:š na´m:t) performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., heš:š nam:t dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´w:t) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and S:´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 276 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But [787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´ˀič). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponːk. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

● 765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lːt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.---To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

[P. 197 a] Chuckchansi

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 753 775 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 302 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.
825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

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[127] Kroeber states that the singing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

[P. 227 b] Western Mono NS 25

W Y 526

ing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

Ring and pole.--Two men would play this game (ho'o´tuš, Michahai; na'a´ñapai'š:t, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki´no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

Pitching stones.--This game (nahai´witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both partners' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

Pitching poles.--This game (ai´kaš, Michahai; nahai´w:tho·pims, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

W Y 524 [765]

Dice game.--This was a woman's game (hutču´ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

Hand game.--This game (hana´ošiko, Michahai; nai'a´nw:t, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 237 b Western Mono NS25
W Y 775 539

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

W 765 [765]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W Y [302] 836

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W Y 765 551

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point S.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

LP.244 a] Yokuts Mono N. 25

W Y 613 825 saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W Y 778 The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W Y 756 The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

Y [237] A man who was a doctor (poha'g:) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u'dam (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

W Y 764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W Y 756 683 The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W Y 765 683 A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village (near the present site of Yokohl). B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 244 b] Western Mono NS2E

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The Yckod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka ču̇a. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob[1]) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187]Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska.

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives.

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre.

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilisation, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joaquin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother, husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their
304 nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They
[184] cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo.
[302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
386 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
438 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
● [765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
531 red, white, and black. and some other color they got from
[386] berries. I never knew how to do that.

The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne
[438] baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
372 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civilization", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aboriginal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Josaps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Josaps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Josaps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoco to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Josaps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Josaps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from